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~~SECRET SENSITIVE/HANDLE VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS~~

PEKING 120 04 NOVEMBER 1975

FOR : SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: GEORGE BUSH

REF : NASH 122, NASH 124

CHIAO KUAN-HUA CALLED ME IN AT 5:30 THIS EVENING TO GIVE ME PRC REPLY TO OUR MESSAGE OF NOVEMBER 1. CHIAO READ CHINESE POSITION WHICH TOOK HARD LINE ON COMMUNIQUE AND SAID ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL AROUND TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE VISIT. AFTER READING TEXT, CHIAO ADDED THAT "IT WOULD BE INCONVENIENT FOR THE CHINESE SIDE TO RECEIVE OUR ADVANCE PARTY ON NOVEMBER 6 BECAUSE ANOTHER HEAD OF STATE WILL BE VISITING THE PRC AT THAT TIME." HE SUGGESTED THE ADVANCE GROUP'S ARRIVAL BE DELAYED UNTIL NOVEMBER 18. I MADE NO COMMENT ON CHIAO'S PRESENTATION OTHER THAN TO SAY I WOULD REPORT THE PRC POSITION.

TEXT CHIAGO'S STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

"THE U.S. MESSAGE OF NOVEMBER 1 DEMONSTRATES AGAIN THAT THE U.S. SIDE SEEKS TO BE OF THE VIEW THAT IT WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE STRONG ACTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF COMMON CONCERN, NOR WILL IT BE PREPARED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE NORMALIZATION OF SINO-U.S. RELATIONS, IF THE CHINESE SIDE DOES NOT SATISFY THE U.S. SIDE ON THE QUESTION OF THE RESULTS OF PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT TO CHINA. THE CHINESE SIDE WOULD LIKE TO STATE THE FOLLOWING IN ALL FRANKNESS: AS IS KNOWN TO ALL, IT IS THE SELF-INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES THAT GUIDES ITS INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS. THE CHINESE SIDE HAS LONG MADE CLEAR THAT IT ENTERTAINS NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. THE BASIS OF CHINA'S POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE. CHINA NEITHER FEARS INTIMIDATION NOR SEEKS PROTECTION. AS FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES, THIS IS THE COMMON ASPIRATION OF THE PEOPLE OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES. AND IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT

HAK, SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, RODHAN

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Part 11

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OWES A DEBT TO CHINA. IN THE PAST 26 YEARS IN THE ABSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE LED A LIFE MUCH BETTER THAN IN ANY OTHER PERIOD IN CHINA'S HISTORY. IT CAN BE SAID WITH CERTAINTY THAT FURTHER DELAY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT CAUSE THE SKY TO FALL, AND THE 800 MILLION CHINESE PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO ENJOY THEIR HAPPY LIFE.

THE CHINESE SIDE HAS ALWAYS FELT THAT THE ISSUANCE OF A JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE NATURE OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, WHICH SHOWS THE WORLD THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES EACH MAINTAINS ITS PRINCIPLED POSITION WHILE SHARING COMMON POINTS, WOULD BE HELPFUL IN DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF COMMON CONCERN AND MOVING TOWARDS NORMALIZATION. THE IMPACT OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HAS CLEARLY BORN THIS OUT. CONVERSELY, AN ATTEMPT TO COVER UP THE TRUTH AND CREATE FALSE IMPRESSIONS CAN ONLY BE HARMFUL AND WILL NOT YIELD THE ANTICIPATED RESULTS. THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF ANY COUNTRY AND ITS ABILITY TO TAKE ACTIONS ARE DETERMINED BY THE POLICY IT ACTUALLY CARRIES OUT. FRANKLY, THE CHINESE SIDE DOES NOT CARE ABOUT SPECULATIONS IN OTHER QUARTERS ABOUT SINO-U.S. RELATIONS. IT DOES NOT MATTER TO THE CHINESE SIDE IF NO DOCUMENT IS TO BE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT TO CHINA, THIS WOULD EVEN NOT BE UNDESIRABLE.

THE CHINESE SIDE HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE U.S. DRAFT COMMUNIQUE SUBMITTED ON OCTOBER 20 IS UNACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. THAT THE U.S. DRAFT "JOINT PRESS STATEMENT" SUBMITTED ON OCTOBER 27 IS IN ESSENCE A REFURBISHED VERSION OF THAT DRAFT COMMUNIQUE IS IRREFUTABLE. THEREFORE, SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONS OR CHANGES ON THE BASIS OF SUCH A DOCUMENT ARE OUT OF THE QUESTION. WE STILL BELIEVE THAT THE BEST SOLUTION WOULD BE FOR THE TWO SIDES TO FURTHER EXCHANGE VIEWS ALONG THE LINES OF THE CHINESE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE OF OCTOBER 22 AND REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THIS BASIS.

AS FOR THE U.S. PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE TIME OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DATES OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, THE CHINESE SIDE FEELS NOVEMBER 4 TO BE TOO EARLY AND THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT CAN WELL BE POSTPONED TILL AROUND TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE VISIT."

WARM REGARDS,

GEORGE BUSH
HT

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